BACK TO THE FUTURE

Workers and the New 'American Plan'

By Elly Leary

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A New Directions
Education Fund Pamphlet

THANKS

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ONE BIG HAPPY FAMILY

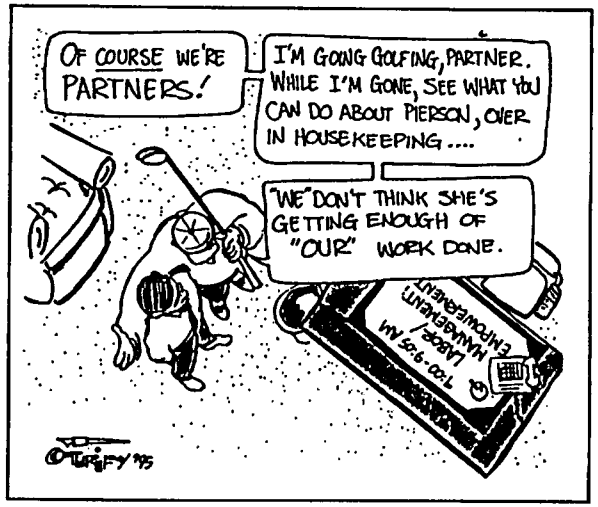
The American Federation of Labor is now attempting to bury its old militant policy and to substitute therefore what it calls union-management cooperation, which tends to reduce strikes or any other form of conflict with employers of labor. This program consists chiefly of convincing the boss that a trade union is an essential part of modern industry which brings assets rather than liabilities to the manufacturing group.

Tom Tippet, When Southern Labor Stirs, 1931[1]

American workers are under ideological attack. It doesn't matter where you work or what you do, the message is the same: Unions are the cause of America's economic decline, and adversarial labor relations (whether or not there is a union) stand in the way of America regaining its competitive edge in the global economy. NAFTA and GATT demand something new and different. If we don't break with the past, we'll be left behind, at the mercy of market forces. Instead of "them and us" we must get reoriented to "common interests" and "cooperation." The success of our main economic rivals, Japan and Germany, we are told, lies precisely in those countries' cooperative labor-management relations. Just about everyone has jumped on this bandwagon: employers, the press, academics of all stripes, Republicans (Nancy Kassenbaum) and Democrats (President Clinton and Secretary of Labor Robert Reich), and even some well-established unions.[2]

Old As the Hills

But what is being billed as something new and different is actually as old as the hills. It is an American tradition dating back to the turn of the Century.[3] But it wasn't until 1915 that these cooperative labor-management plans really got rolling. Just


OF COURSE WE'RE PARTNERS!
I'M GOING GOLFING, PARTNER. WHILE I'M GONE, SEE WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT PIERSON, OVER IN HOUSEKEEPING....
WE DON'T THINK SHE'S GETTING ENOUGH OF "OUR" WORK DONE.
LABOR MANAGEMENT ENDEAVOR
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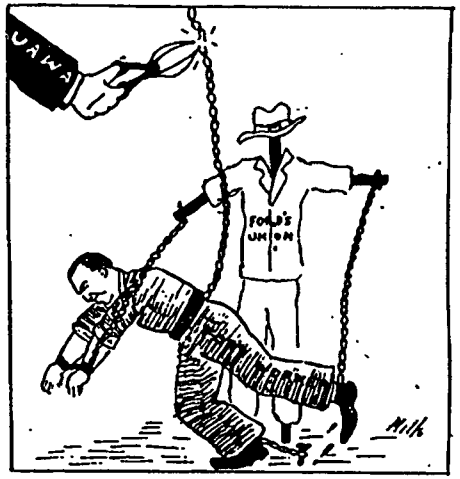
after the (in)famous Bloody Ludlow Massacre of strikers, their wives and children and the defeat of the United Mine Workers of America, John D. Rockefeller instituted the "Colorado Industrial Plan (CIP)." With great fanfare -- there were parades, speeches, photo-ops in miner's camps, and elaborate voting by miners to "endorse" the plan -- Rockefeller declared that the CIP would usher in a new dawn in labor-management relations where "labor and capital join hands and recognize their common interests." Rockefeller made it clear that he would have nothing to do with unions.

Under the CIP, appointed employee representatives would meet with management to discuss workplace issues like health and safety, working conditions, and individual grievances. Matters concerning wages or basic managerial principles, however, were not on the table. The plan flatly stated that "officials of the company may decide any question without consulting committees or employee representatives." These joint committees were specifically designed to operate at the local/company level so that employees would be unable to coordinate on an industry-wide basis as the United Mine Workers had intended. The committee structure did not limit industry-wide consultation for management, and western mine owners continued to meet as a group.[4]

CUTTING THE CHAINS



The CIP, the brainchild of the future Canadian Prime Minister McKenzie King, became the model for all future plans, reaching perfection at Harvester (the flagship of the American Plans) and in steel. By 1934, 93% of all steel workers were organized into these plans, called "company unions." In other sectors company unions became equally entrenched[5] and were so powerful that until they were outlawed by the Wagner Act (1935), they grew faster than independent unions.

The company unions of an earlier generation were part of a much broader management agenda that got shaped and refined as part of the Second Industrial Revolution. Earlier in the 19th Century a similar sweeping

transformation had taken place, usually called the First Industrial Revolution. The invention of the steam engine, cotton gin, and mechanical weaving loom laid the groundwork for Europe and America to move from agricultural to industrial societies[6]. In this initial Industrial Revolution common people were forced off the land and into the city to man the new factories. Instead of working to the seasons, the natural cycles of plants and animals, common people had to be disciplined to work to the relentless rhythm of the factory. In place of a leisurely paced 150 day work year, people were expected to work 350 days a year.[7]

The Second Industrial Revolution had an equally dramatic impact on what people did for a living and how they did it. New technology (electricity and the Bessemer/open hearth process for example) made it possible to make many more things and make them faster and better. Between 1900 and 1929 productivity doubled. Put another way, man hours worked as a ratio of manufacturing output fell by almost one-half.[8] Mass transportation, especially the railroads, united large sections of previously isolated areas. The trip from California to the Chesapeake now took a matter of days rather than months. As local communities got in touch they came into contact each others' different customs, type and method of doing work.

The hallmark of the Second Industrial Revolution was the development of the modern corporation.[9] The power of this new form was awesome: It decided which technologies got promoted, how they got integrated into the workplace[10] and how work got done. The corporation's sheer size and reach demanded standardization and control whether it was in financing and building new operations, or processing paperwork, or making a finished product. American business pursued standardization and control in two main ways: first by using the "scientific management" theories of Frederick W. Taylor, or Taylorism[11] and second by developing the personnel department. The theory behind "scientific management" was that if jobs could be broken down into their smallest parts the work process could be standardized and controlled. Once workers no longer built whole cars but just bolted on tires all day long human error (and creativity) would be eliminated. It would also be easy to tell who was loafing and who was putting in a "honest day's work."

The Taylor system neatly solved several other pressing management problems as well. Because the jobs were broken down into small units they were easy to teach and learn. A short demonstration of how to do a job was

usually enough; there was no need for lengthy and complicated verbal instructions. Anyone -- young, old, native-born, foreign speaking -- could learn the job in a very short time. This was extremely helpful since at the time when scientific management made its way into the workplace basic industry it was heavily manned by workers who did not speak English. In 1909, 58% of the workers in twenty major mining and manufacturing industries were foreign born. They made up 45% of the unskilled workforce and 38% of the semi-skilled workforce. Between 1870 and 1920 the foreign born percentage of the total white population was about 16%; their children made up nearly 1/4 of the population over that period.[12]

The short learning curve of the Taylor process enabled management to deal effectively with the problem of incredibly high turnover, well over 200% in many factories. Several factors contributed to this high turnover. First and foremost was the horrible conditions in these workplaces. Even Ford, which drew job seekers like a magnet because of it's advertized high wages (although in truth few ever made $5/day), had a 400% turnover.[13] Second was the priorities of the white immigrant workforce. Contrary to popular myth, immigrant workers didn't come to America to set down roots in the "land of opportunity," but to temporarily escape grinding poverty in their homeland. Many emigrated to America just long enough to earn a nest egg. Before immigration ended in 1924, nearly 1/2 of European (western, eastern, and southern) immigrants returned home. The situation wasn't much more stable for the native born. Between 1910 and 1940 over 4 million southerners (1/2 African-American and 1/2 white) migrated north. Most,

especially African-Americans, didn't land "permanent" jobs. In fact, many young men went from factory to factory or factory to farm depending on the season or rumors of better conditions and pay elsewhere. This trend was so common in auto that these young men earned the tag, "suitcase brigade."[14]

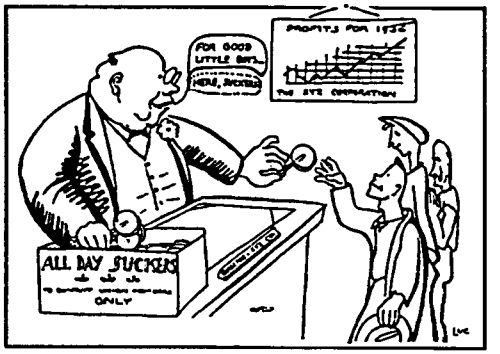
The Taylor process consolidated the move from craft to high-volume mass production. In that move workers lost both their knowledge leverage and the ability to control the work process[15]. Where craft unions existed, their power was broken. Under the craft system workers took years to learn their job. Under the Taylor mass production system it took only a matter of days. Nowhere were the results more dramatic than in steel. Prior to the Second Industrial Revolution, the Sons of Vulcan functioned like wholly independent subcontractors within the factory. They negotiated with management over the price, tonnage and delivery date of their product. After that it was up to the Sons get the job done. They decided who got paid what (there was an extensive job classification and apprentice system) and the details of the work process.[16]

If Taylorism was the first leg of the management strategy for standardization and control, the creation on the Personnel Department was the second. There were all kinds; some, like the Ford Service Department under Harry Bennett, relied mostly on fear. Most, however, combined fear with persuasion, the carrot and stick, to keep workers in line. In the early part of the century management's personnel strategy was to divide and conquer. Different ethnic groups were separated by department and skill. Criss-crossing the new huge factories was like travelling around the world. Each work area had its own language, culture and way of doing things. The foremen were lords of their small empires hiring, firing, setting wage and piece rates.[17]

After World War I, management shifted gears. Now, for their white workers at least, they wanted a homogenized or "Americanized" workforce. Ethnic differences and rivalries, so effective in an earlier period, were counter-productive once mass production got cranked up during the World War I boom economy. To turn out high volume in a short amount of time required a production process where everyone pulled in the same direction on the same beat. Factories and society were bombarded with slogans about patriotism and Americanism. It must be stressed, however, that the push for homogenization/"Americanization" did not extend to African-Americans or non-white foreign born. Keeping people of color divided from white workers

(whether native or foreign born) has always been central to the US economy and society.

And then there was the Russian Revolution. It electrified workers all over the world. Management blamed their foreign-born employees for getting native-born workers interested in workers' power. Management was loosing control: socialist and communist parties who challenged management and the American capitalist system were gaining popularity; unions (the IWW and left-led unions especially) were kicking up a storm; strikes and work stoppages were increasingly common. Top management (today's CEOs) from different corporations began meeting together to figure out what to do. They realized that ruling with the iron fist wouldn't be enough to gain control; they had to win worker's loyalties as well.



Their meetings resulted in the "American Plan." For the first time management provided benefits (burial insurance for example) and schooling in English and American culture. Prior to this separate ethnic and language (and racial) groups relied on each other to take care of family disasters or unemployment. They created many benefit and mutual aid societies for this purpose.[18] A significant part of management's American Plan was to replace the ethnic family with the company family. In addition to benefits, management created forums where workers could speak up, "contribute," mingle with management on a level of "equality." These forums were as innocent as the company picnic, choir, or baseball team or as loaded as the workers' councils or employee-representation plans.

But more than anything the American Plan was about creating a union-free environment, or as it was called then, the "open-shop." The companies wanted to break the newly-forming industrial-based unions where they existed and to prevent them where they didn't.[19] In its place management installed works councils or employee representation plans, later known as company unions. The "better" ones had elected worker representatives which handled workplace "grievances" and issues concerning production and quality. Some even had input into who got laid-off and recalled. Despite

WHO SAID IT?
Try to guess who said each of the following:

1. The time has come for labor and management to surmount past enmities and forge the kind of partnerships which can generate more productive, democratic and humane systems of work.

2. Team involvement and employee participation is not a union versus non-union an issue. Our goal is to give our production employees the authority to do what they need to improve their jobs and products. This leads to mutual business security for all.

3. Work involvement and labor-management cooperation have helped Ford plants [be] among the most productive in the world, and they have contributed to increased market share, improved economic performance and enhanced employee development and work satisfaction.

4. Today, progressive businessmen regard their workers, not as antagonists, but as welcome partners in the great task of production. We have found that the free and frank exchange of ideas has generated a better understanding of our mutual problems. Collective bargaining has become less a contest and more a collaboration.

5. The union leader should promote the welfare of the business as well as that of employes. We of labor have a major job informing union members ...of the work and competitive position of the company. We do not wish union members to feel that loyalty to the union excludes loyalty to the company.

6. The plans lead to the sound and harmonious relationship between labor and management like the sound and harmonious relationships between man and wife.

7. Capital and labor have this new way of working out their problems, a way of discovering to the mutual satisfaction of everybody concerned...that here is a new channel for getting at something we have been seeking for a long time, and now, even in these troublesome days...perhaps the sunrise is just a little bit clearer.

8. Until labor and capital join hands and recognize that their interest is a common interest, that what hurts one hurts the other, that what develops the well-being and prosperity of one must of necessity develop the well-being and prosperity of the other.

1) AFL-CIO February 1994. 2) Bill Moarchn, Pres. & CEO of Whirlpool Corp. November 8, 1993; one year later Whirlpool announced two plant closings, both union. 3) Ernest Lofton, UAW Ford VP and Peter Pestillo, Exec. VP Ford, July 28, 1993. 4) Philip Murray, Pres. USWA 1948. 5) The Code of Economic Group Behavior 1947; signed by Walter Reuther (UAW), Clinton Golden (USWA), Marion Hedges (IBEW), James Carey (CIO), Emil Reeve (United Textile) George Meany (Sec. Tres. AFL). 6) Arthur Young, President U.S. Steel 1933. 7) Cyrus McCormick II, President Harvester 1920. 8) John D. Rockefeller 1915.

outward appearances of democracy and union features, these organizations were completely under the thumb of management.[20]

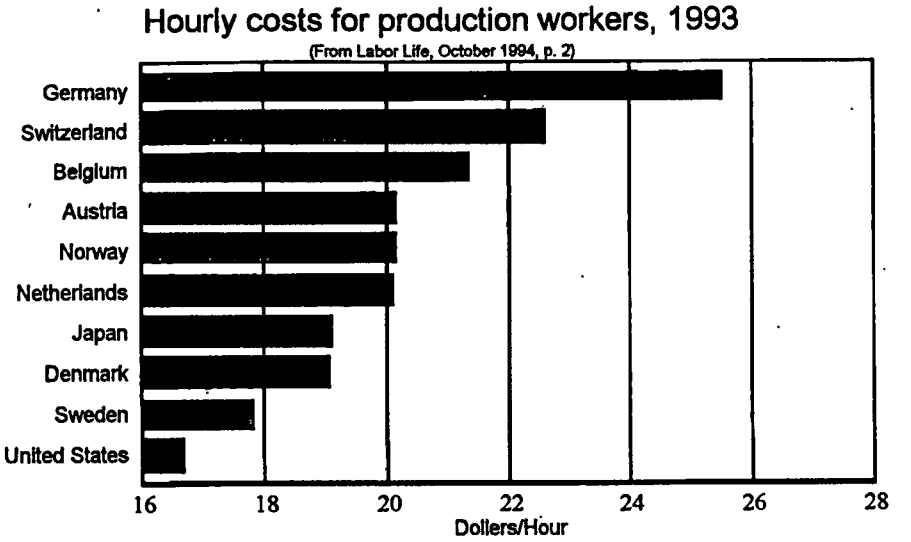
Unfortunately, labor didn't answer managements' American Plan drive with one voice and a unified strategy. The AFL craft unions under the leadership of William Green, trying to preserve what they had, pursued a get along strategy. Green tried to "sell" management on the benefits on craft unionism: peaceful negotiations, no-strike pledges, "reasonableness," fiefdom-like jurisdictions, unconditional support for the existing economic and political system, and an "all-American," all-white membership.[21] The AFL resisted all attempts to consider industrial unionism whether it was to transform the AFL or let other labor organizations (like the IWW or the Trade Union Unity League[22]) do this job. Divided and weakened, labor was no match for the companies and the government forces they enlisted. In the end unionism was temporarily crushed.

IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES

The Computer Revolution

Just as the new technologies of the Second Industrial Revolution presented management with new possibilities for the workplace, today's workplaces face a transformation that is just as far reaching. This current age began in the early 1970s with the widespread introduction of computers into "civil" society. Computers and information technology have revolutionized work and economic life. Productivity increases have been phenomenal. On one hand, the computer age has allowed the national economy of the Second Industrial Revolution to develop into a global economy. Economic (and political) pacts like NAFTA and GATT are part of "legalizing" and solidifying this new economic order. On the other hand, this new technology has made it possible to build a workplace around "flexible specialization."[23] In the place of machines and tools which were designed to crank out millions of the same thing (the Model T or the Brownie Hawkeye camera) it is now possible to make machines and tools that can turn out several different models of the same basic item in a very short time. The changes in non-manufacturing settings has been equally stunning -- the "communications" industry of TV, telephones, newspapers, magazines, and publishing stands out.

Any period of transformation with it shifting ground brings instability for workers and managers alike. Both the work process itself and its social relations are up for grabs. Like their grandfathers, this generation of CEOs has been meeting to map out a strategy to deal with the possibilities presented by the computer age and to chart a smooth course in the transition to a global economy. This generation's strategy is equally as powerful and subtle as the American Plan and has many parallels. Today's American Plan starts from the idea if Americans are to survive and prosper in the highly competitive global economy, the required flexible specialization, customer driven products and services ("boutiques") are incompatible with the old work process and labor relations. American workers, we are told, will have to temporarily tighten their belts so that the necessary investments can be made to change American businesses. Regulations, whether of business by the government (OSHA, EPA) or of the workplace by restrictive union contracts, must give way to market forces. Only in this way will a pay-off



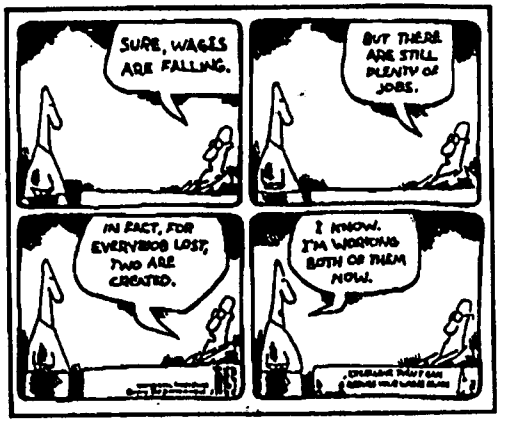
will be realized.

In the place of monotonous and alienating Taylorism, workers are promised a high-skill high-wage workplace. Rapidly changing products and services demands workers with craft-like knowledge of their "trade." Waiting for orders, parking your brains at the workplace door should be swept into the dustbin of history. In order for America to be competitive, workers must find common cause with managers, share ideas, and take initiative. Management has finally seen the wisdom of labor's dream of a more democratic, involved workplace. This new management attitude means that unions, built out of the necessity of Taylorism and the social relations it created, are outdated. Thus, like the earlier American Plan, this current one is geared to a union-free ("right to work") environment.[24]

An entire industry has grown around implementing the new American Plan in the workplace. Consultants now swarm through America's workplaces investigating, analyzing, sloganeering, and constructing their models. By the time the union, or workers in a non-union workplace, get wind of the "reorganization" or are asked for input, things have reached the final stages.[25]

Behind the rhetoric of a free-flowing high-skill, high-wage workplace is another reality: great wealth for a lucky few and growing poverty for many more; some people are working all the time, others not at all; a few have steady jobs, but for many men and women those dreams have evaporated. In

1993 alone, 660,000 jobs were lost. Even highly profitable business were downsizing - take Fleet Bank of New England, which cut its workforce by 19% despite record profits.[26] This trend toward massive and permanent unemployment has had serious consequences. There are now more American men in jail, on parole or probation (4.6 million) than are out of work (4.2 million). A disproportionate share are men of color. [27] According to the US Department of Labor, the number of poor people increased in 1993. One-quarter of all working Americans, 30 million people, earn only enough to put them at the poverty line. According to one economist, the figures reporting a 13% fall in real wages over the last two decades is actually more like 30%[28] U.S. manufacturing workers, once the highest paid in the world, now rank 10th, behind even Japan.


SURE, WAGES ARE FALLING.
BUT THERE ARE STILL PLENTY OF JOBS.
IN FACT, FOR EVERYBOD LOST, TWO ARE CREATED.
I KNOW. I'M WORKING BOTH OF THEM NOW.

Increasingly, Americans aren't working jobs which face either foreign competition or high rates of technological change. They're working in retail (Wal-Mart, now with more employees than General Motors), non-durable manufacturing (food processing), and service (McDonald's and homecare). A good many of these underpaid jobs are temporary or part-time. In fact, 2/3rds of the 660,000 jobs lost in 1993 reappeared as "contingent" jobs.[29] Thirty-four million Americans, about 35% of the workforce, are "contingent" workers. Three-quarters of part-timers are women; twenty percent are African-American. Seventy-seven percent make less than $9/hr. Almost none of these jobs come with benefits.[30] It is not surprising then that Manpower, with more than 640,000 employees, is the nations's largest employer. These underpaid jobs help subsidize those sought-after "high-skill high-wage" ones[31] which are being squeezed themselves as the number of low-wage jobs increases. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the wages of college-educated white males are falling.[32]

Another trend is on-line which will send "'out-of-business' shock waves crashing down through the craft industry. . ."[33] Through computer-aided-design databases customized tools and jig, built by skilled tradespeople, will be replaced with mass produced, "standardized" tooling components. The goal is to eliminate vast numbers of skilled workers and replace them the unskilled order-pickers who simply man Sears catalogue type warehouses of pre-made, mass produced tools and tool components. The few remaining skilled trades will only have to make minor modifications to these mass produced tools. All these trends show that big business is well on its way to realizing the dream of control and standardization.

Like the framers of the American Plan, today's CEOs have organized allies in academia, government and unions. One doesn't have to look farther than the Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations (also known as the Dunlop Commission)[34] or the proposed World Trade Organization (the GATT supreme court) for evidence. So how does this new American Plan combine the rhetoric of "worker initiative," "workplace democracy," "partners in competition," with the needs of standardization and control?

The Marriage From Hell

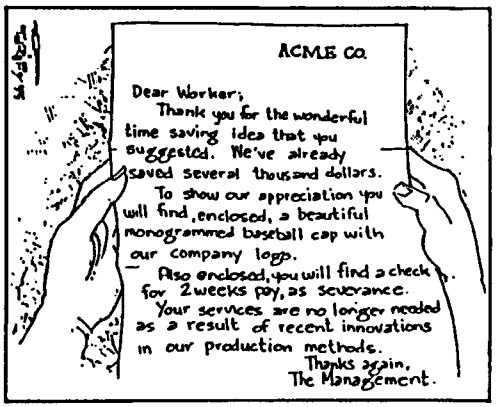
This generation's version of the American Plan burst on the scene in the early 1980s with the publication of the book, *Theory Z: How American Business can Meet the Japanese Challenge.*[35] In the most simple terms, it improves upon the old McKenzie King model of company unions by integrating the Japanese system of "lean production"[36] with "Theory Y"[37] personnel management theories. Theory Z stresses that productivity increases are linked to a social organization which stresses collective decision making, flexibility, and interpersonal skills. The result is a highly political system of corporate hegemony[38] that operates through a system of tightly constructed or contradictions. The negatives are just as important as the positives in the system's functioning. The goal is to get more work from fewer workers and to get there with the minimum amount of friction and the maximum amount of compliance. This marriage from hell has earned several names: "Management by Stress,"[39] "The Competitive-Cooperative Workplace,"[40] and "Anorexic Production."[41]

Theory Y, based on common wisdom that you get more with honey than vinegar, has its roots in the comprehensive Hawthorne works experiments. Beginning in 1924 and continuing for over a decade, an army of social scientists descended on the Hawthorne facility (in Chicago) of Western Electric to study how to make workers more productive. After controlling for nearly every conceivable variable (from food intake, to lighting, to length of work day), the researchers finally concluded that the most effective way to increase production is to pay attention to workers.[42]

The opposite of Theory Y is Theory X, a system of labor relations that considers workers dumb bricks to be ordered around. Although the term hadn't been invented then, Theory X describes the underlying psychology behind Frederick Taylor's system of workplace organization where every job is broken down to it's most minute part.[43] There is more to Taylorist production, which most people associate with the assembly line, than just the organization of how work gets done. Codification of work production was also aimed at taking away the power of the supervisor and giving it to top management. At the time Taylor was devising his scheme, front line supervisors ran their work areas like personal feifdoms, hiring and firing, assigning work, pay rates, etc. as they pleased.[44] Likewise, today's labor-management programs seek to take power away from the supervisor. This time, however, the goal is to eliminate them entirely and make workers supervise each other. Although the rhetoric surrounding this new system claims to replace out-dated Taylorism, it's really decentralized Taylorism where responsibility is pushed downward and power is shifted upward. This system of decentralized Taylorism has six parts: five separate, but interrelated, sets of contradictions that guide daily activity and 1 process part.

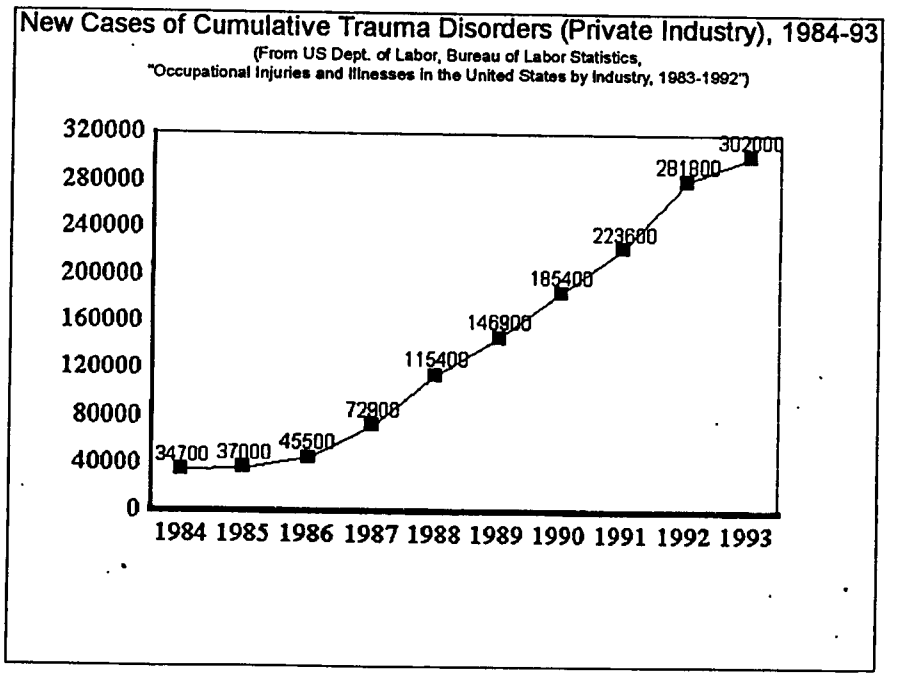
Contradiction #1: The Poison Apple

The first, which I call the poison apple cluster, is geared toward making a smooth transition as responsibilities are shifted downward to individual workers. At the same time all the talk

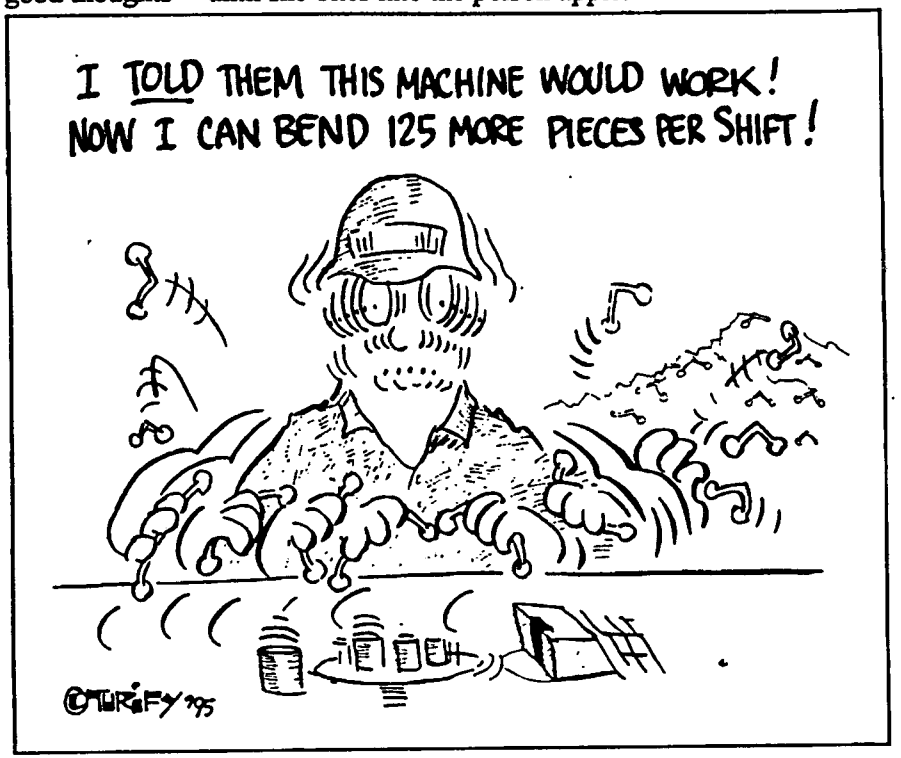

ACME Co.
Dear Worker;
Thank you for the wonderful time saving idea that you suggested. We've already saved several thousand dollars.
To show our appreciation you will find, enclosed, a beautiful monogrammed baseball cap with our company logo.
Also enclosed, you will find a check for 2 weeks pay, as severance.
Your services are no longer needed as a result of recent innovations in our production methods.
Thanks again,
The Management.

is about team work and collective responsibility. This shift to individual responsibility occurs on several levels. First, individuals are now responsible for their own employment. Companies and society are no longer obligated to offer "steady" full time jobs, even to those who work hard and play by the rules. "Self-employed," an ever-growing job category, is being sold as a way for workers to gain control over their lives -- you can work when you want. On a second level, workers are manipulated to see any problem which arises in the workplace as a personal failing to be solved individually, not through collective action. Under the guise of "team work" individuals are made to shoulder the load.

This set of contradictions "works" by establishing a system of obligations. It's success is critical. If it fails then the rest of the system won't fall into place. Management is instructed to stop yelling and start listening. Talk about "valued employees" and "we're all in this together" are common. It's no accident that the new message is precisely the same as the traditional appeal the union movement has made to workers -- respect, dignity and value in the workplace. But it doesn't stop at just talk. Group sessions are held where workers and managers sit side by side and air complaints. Free meals, cookouts, trinkets, T-shirts, hats, you name it are passed out like candy at Halloween. Every effort is made to correct complaints about lack of supplies, dirty work areas, and vending machines that don't work. Workers



are encouraged to revamp their work areas and try out new ways to get the job done. Quality suggestions are especially important. In some places management eliminates the bosses' dining room and special parking lots. In many unionized workplaces, joint committees now get things done that the union tried unsuccessfully for years to win at the bargaining table.[45] Too often this new measure of respect represents a 180 degree turn. Things look and feel good, but deep down every worker knows you don't get something for nothing.[46] It's like Snow White who whistles while she works, and thinks good thoughts -- until she bites into the poison apple.



Contradiction #2: Impartial Technology

The second set of contradictions revolves around taking advantage of new technologies and scientific discoveries. The talk is "labor-saving," the walk is work intensification (speed-up). Management is after a lot more than the unhampered introduction of computers, computer driven machinery, and robots.[47] They are after eliminating "wasted motions." Some places tell

workers this is just a matter of "working smarter." But the alarming increase in injury rates in factories and offices, especially repetitive stress injuries (RSI) which have skyrocketed 770% in the last 10 years, shows workers are simply working harder.[48]

Workers are trained to use computers to pinpoint wasted motions and "labor savings steps." They are told that by inputting their every movement into the computer or writing up detailed job descriptions for management they are getting a chance to "design their own jobs." What's really happening is that they are allowing management to gain control over their knowledge of their job.[49] In the past, workers used these innovative labor-saving ideas to get some breathing space. Now, as the property of management, they are used to eliminate jobs here and add work there. Instead of the hated "time study" man, impartial science (the computer) now determines how much work makes a "fair day."

Technology also figures in the reorganization, even reconception, of work. Similar to the radical transformation brought about by linking the technological breakthroughs of the Second Industrial Revolution with Taylorism, the new labor-management programs aim for equally dramatic results.[50] This is already underway. In some manufacturing plants the long snaking assembly line and conveyor system has been replaced by circles of machines, or "cells," (computer driven and operated by 1/2 the number of employees) connected to each other by computer driven transport platforms/ sleds (AGVs) or web-like conveyor systems.[51] In offices the paperwork assembly line with it's checks and balances is being replaced by E-Mail linking sub-groups and suppliers who now are part of the responsibility loop.[52]

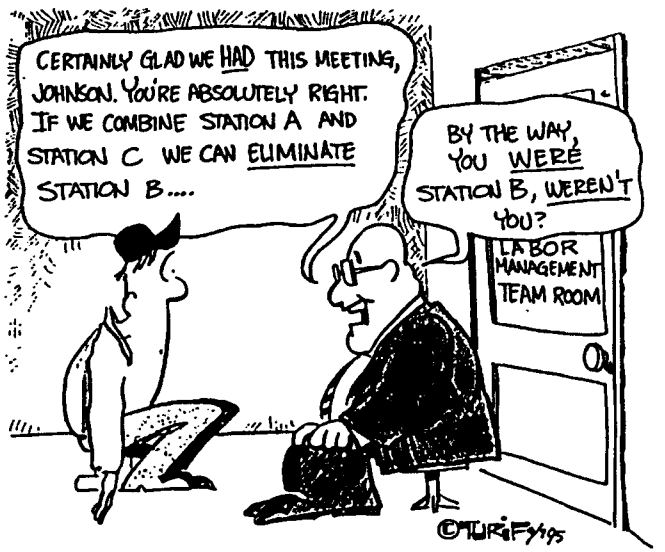
Much of this reorganization is being championed as opening the door to the "return to craftism" or "neo-craftism" as workers take on more tasks or run (and even set-up) more machines. However, there is a big, but subtle difference between the neo-cratism and the real thing. Craft production has two basic parts: responsibility to run and do a wide range of tasks and be creative and innovative. The new work reorganization, even in advanced machine-shops where workers run all kinds of fancy and sophisticated lathes, grinders, etc., has plenty of the former, but very little of the latter. Even here tolerances, procedures, set-up requirements, order are fairly well-established. There is no doubt workers would rather run a variety of machines or, in the office setting, follow their piece of the business from in-

box to final out-box, than just do the same small task over and over. But creativity and wide personal discretion are limited. And as workers are pushed into discovering the one-best-way (see below), the opportunity for innovation lessens, until finally there is none at all. In many ways it's like a geometry proofs -- you may have to reason and remember a number of different propositions, but there is only one right solution.

A number of new workplaces haven't bothered with talk about labor-saving, worker design, input, or skill-enhancement. They've used the latest in technology to create electronic sweatshops of unspeakable harshness: constant surveillance by cameras to insure that "no talking no gazing rules" are enforced, computerized monitoring of individual word-processing keystrokes, timed and recorded telephone conversations with customers.[53]

Contradiction #3: One Best Way

In the third set of contradictions workers are asked to participate in the work process in a way that ends up limiting their choices. It centers around the search for the "one best" way to do the job. If workers, managers and engineers just put their heads together, eventually they'll find it. Workers participation is crucial since they have the most complete knowledge about what works and what doesn't. The perfection that everyone is shooting for is a management defined goal -- it's a process that has no extra steps, cuts out


CERTAINLY GLAD WE HAD THIS MEETING, JOHNSON. YOU'RE ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. IF WE COMBINE STATION A AND STATION C WE CAN ELIMINATE STATION B....
BY THE WAY, YOU WERE STATION B, WEREN'T YOU?
LABOR MANAGEMENT TEAM ROOM
©TURFFY95

every possible source of waste (be it material or human input), and takes the least time to produce the most consistent (standard) results. It applies equally to building up doors on a car, getting an insurance claim through the system to final payment, or developing a new camera or computer.

The more workers participate, the fewer options they leave themselves. Individual adjustments to take into account height, strength, time of day, handedness, personal style and motivation are rooted out, until finally there is only the "one best way." In some auto plants the results would please even Frederick Taylor -- tools and parts are lined up on workbenches in a specific order. Just to make sure, outlines are painted on work surfaces to remind workers just where and how to place tools and parts. One-Best-Way is really just a sophisticated form of authoritarian rule that most workers know only too well.

Contradiction #4: Hung or Shot

The fourth set of contradictions centers around giving workers the illusion of choice and workplace empowerment, while in reality workers are giving up whatever power they have. Choice and empowerment are limited to a defined management agenda. When everything clicks, workers will feel that the only choices they have are those on the management agenda and that they are powerless to change the set of options before them.

As responsibilities get shifted downward, workers are now "empowered" to make decisions in two areas formerly reserved for management. The first relates to personnel matters: scheduling vacations, handling leaves for injury and sickness, as well as daily absences. In a "healthy" workplace this can be a real plus for workers. But in the "anorexic" workplace giving one worker time off may mean those left behind, already overworked and stretched the max, have to pick up the pieces. In these situations infighting, bickering and intense peer pressure are common. Workers sometimes refuse to grant each other vacations or days off to take care of family matters. In some GM plants, before a worker can return to work from being absent it's the union that OKs doctor's notes and determines whether an absence is excusable.

The second set of empowerment decisions relates to production. Under

the banner of "flexibility" workers are forced to participate in cutting their own jobs.[54] Empowerment is reduced to deciding how. It's like letting the death row prisoner decide whether he gets hung or shot and calling that prisoner's rights. "Choice" comes in several forms. The first involves workers agreeing to getting fired and then rehired as "casuals" or "consultants," without the benefits of "permanent" employees. In the second form groups of workers are given time off the job and closeted with managers and plant engineers. After a day or two of "brainstorming" and "training" workers are told to "redesign" their jobs. They are given almost complete freedom to shuffle things around. They can change the order in which things get done, decide who will do what and even which tools are to be used. The only ground rule is that all the tasks must be completed in the same amount of time as before but with fewer people. (Remember, even this solution will later undergo some One-Best-Way refinement.) Allowing for more time, keeping the same number of workers or even adding more (often more tasks are put into the mix) are not options. This process is already under way in several GM locations and has the union's blessing.

Contradiction #5: If It Walks Like a Duck

Although the goal of decentralized Taylorism is to get rid of supervisory personnel altogether, the reality is the system needs glue to bind it together and be sure its operational objectives are met. That glue is a special corps of people, called "employee representatives" or "team advocates." While the talk is pro-worker, the walk is company promoter. In the non-union workplace the company point person is usually called the "team leader." Management takes great care in selecting and training team leaders, often interviewing several thousand people for only several hundred positions. In traditional Taylorism supervisors relied on fear and punishment to get workers to comply. By contrast, in decentralized Taylorism the team leader uses Theory Y interpersonal skills to be sure workers come to the very decisions management wants, but all the while making sure workers believe it was their idea. As one personnel manager (a trained social psychologist) put it, "We want puppets without strings." Nothing is left to chance. With the assistance of psychologically-oriented top management, team leaders meet separately to carefully chart a course for team meetings.[55]

In the union shop decentralized Taylorism is managed by union members. In the UAW system they are appointed and account for between

5 - 10% of the workforce. Even though they are union members they (and elected reps as well) are under contractual obligations to "secure the corporation's market position", "increase operational effectiveness," and "fully utilize employees." At Saturn, unionized (UAW) team members conduct hiring interviews for new team members. It's been known that one question, "If you knew that two jobs could be combined and that one union member would be cut, what would you do?" can make or break and interview. In other words, the union is now the productivity police, handing out work here, eliminating a job there, and cutting out waste everywhere. In the 15 years since the UAW signed on to labor-management cooperation (NUMMI and Saturn being the flagships) productivity has increased 105%, injury rates have risen more than 400%, the hourly workforce has been cut by 45%, the 10 hour day has replaced the 8 day as the standard, and there's more overtime than anytime since WWII.

A joint union-management bureaucracy has emerged leaving the union structure of elected representatives an empty shell and rank and filers out in the cold.[56] Often union-partners make and enact decisions without membership approval, discussion or knowledge. Even when things are put to a vote, any rejection by the workers of what the partners have presented just causes the vote to be taken again and again until the answer comes up right.[57] In some places new worker-partners have even taken up some of the most hated practices of management -- forcing injured workers to seek on their own time help from joint union-management Ergonomics Committee (where they are fitted with back trusses and arm and wrist braces for reptitive motion injuries) rather than get released to the plant doctor on work time.

The Process: Boiled, Pithed and Shrunk

The promise of both the old and new American Plans is to have workers adopt the company's goals as their own. While pockets of doubters, resisters, and those that just plain don't care exist, the majority fall in line[58]. This is not surprising in a non-union workplace. But now it is increasingly common to hear stories how strong unionists, selected to represent the union in joint labor-management programs because of their pro-union commitment, turn into born-again company promoters.[59] How does this happen? A popular theory is the coopting power of perks.

Closer to the mark are two well-known high-school frog experiments. In

one, a frog is slowly submerged into boiling water. The process of being boiled alive is so gradual that the frog dies without any signs of struggle. However, if the frog were dropped into the boiling water, it would struggle and splash in an attempt to get out. In another frog experiment, students insert a sharp needle into the frog's brain (through the tympanum) and twirl it around literally scrambling the frog's brain. The frog, alive but brain dead, is now ready for the students to dissect or test the effects of electric current. While these may be apt descriptions of decentralized Taylorism system of contradictions and its effect on workers, they lack the psychological component, a vital element of hegemony in humans.

In short, we're looking to explain the psychology of contradictions. One such explanation is "cognitive dissonance,"[60] the psychological theory which explains what happens when a person's actions, cultural mores, or events don't match a person's beliefs. The human psyche can't stand this gap, or dissonance. As soon as it appears there will be pressures to reduce it. This pressure mounts as the distance or "magnitude" between the elements grows. Even though there are a number of ways dissonance can be reduced (changing the environment, changing beliefs, adding new elements or information to the situation, taking actions, getting support for your beliefs), reduction is not guaranteed. In fact, dissonance could increase. Nevertheless, most of the time a person tries to reduce dissonance.

Two of the strategies for reducing dissonance, Forced Compliance and Social Support, are most helpful in understanding how the system of decentralized Taylorism works. Forced Compliance works by offering either punishments or rewards to get a person to change their beliefs. Experiments showed that it doesn't matter whether people are punished or rewarded to change their public behavior or expression. Initially, a person

clings to private beliefs even though they may publicly say that they have changed them. Over time though, private opinions will line up with public behavior, to reduce dissonance. In those situations where dissonance comes from "social disagreements," rewards and punishments may not work or are inappropriate. Here a person tries to reduce dissonance in four ways: change their opinion to conform to others; change others' opinions; associate with those that hold opinions like their own; or make people holding the different opinion somehow "not comparable to oneself" thus allowing those opinions to be discounted. The more social interaction there is the more likely that something will be done to reduce dissonance. Generally, people try to associate with those who hold their own belief (the easiest way), rather than change opinions (theirs or others).

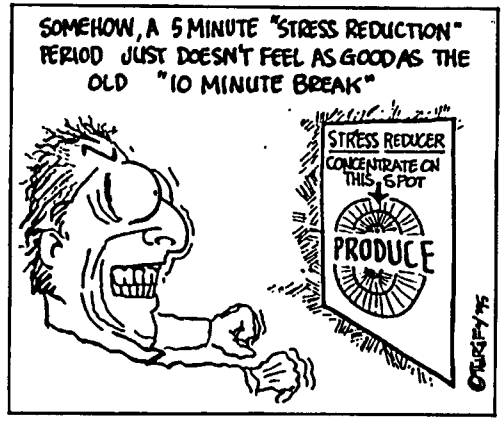
The new labor-management cooperation system is ripe for dissonance reduction solutions. Workers are constantly bombarded with negative and positive "cognitions." These run from slogans, newsletters, meetings where workers are reminded to "beat the competition" and establish "trust" with management, to the introduction of "labor-saving" machinery and techniques. Perks are everywhere: prizes for suggestions, trips, off-site training. In shops where the union has signed on rewards are jointly sponsored. Workers who see the gap between rhetoric and reality cling together (or in rare instances, move on). In workplaces which have been "reengineered" it is not uncommon for workers to tell interviewers conflicting things: they like the system and they are too tired at the end of the day. Most times, however, there are public statements and private complaints, "you can't fight city hall." Over time, these conflicts get resolved. Workers retreat to the bunkers, "I'd better be satisfied because it won't get any better than this." Psychological stress or "pressure" is so widespread that the UAW/Ford national agreement provides workers with "stress debriefings." Bottom line: Workers are "shrunk" into submission.

NEW "REALISM" OF NEW VISION

Three Strikes and You're Out

This late 20th century version of the American Plan is spreading like poison ivy through America's workplaces. What is so surprising is that even unionized workplaces have got the rash. How did we come full-circle to the point where company unionism is not only acceptable, but the vision of choice? A lot of people point to the co-opting power of perks that workers usually receive for signing on: paid time off the job to meet with the company, training sessions in fancy settings, trips to other workplaces (sometimes overseas) to check out their program, special privileges, and in some cases extra pay.

Perhaps the biggest reason for the resurgence of company unionism has been the condition of our American labor movement. Many link the decline of the U.S unions to the rise of business unionism, which has its roots in the World War II era. Although a lot of ink has been spilled about the failure of business unionism and consequences to working people,[61] three major disasters stand out, labor's "Three Strikes," so to speak. First, labor traded it's independent political agenda for economic security. By the early 1950s labor's demands for national health care and the thirty hour work week had fallen by the wayside. Second, unions just coasted along, riding big business' coattails into the new factories of an expanding economy. Aside from organizing in the public sector, the AFL-CIO devoted almost no resources to unionize either the sunrise industries, like computers and telecommunications, or the emerging labor markets, in particular the sunbelt southwest. Operation Dixie, the campaign to organize the south, was half-hearted and abandoned after a few years, long before any pay off could have been reaped. The third strike, and the most devastating, was big labor's refusal to come to grips with


SOMEHOW, A 5 MINUTE "STRESS REDUCTION" PERIOD JUST DOESN'T FEEL AS GOOD AS THE OLD "10 MINUTE BREAK"
STRESS REDUCER
CONCENTRATE ON THIS SPOT
PRODUCE

the rapidly changing workforce. Too often the new workforce of women and people of color were ignored because of the wrong-headed and racist idea that these folks were anti-union.[62]

The 1974 oil "crisis," which brought an end to the post World War II economic expansion, placed the whole business union system in jeopardy. But the escalation of globalization and competition in the 1980s turned this into a bottom-of-the-ninth-ten-runs-down situation. Desperate and rudderless, many unionists and their friends in academia have embraced labor-management cooperation either as a last ditch attempt to save what can be saved before extinction, or as the only alternative available.

Desperately Seeking Solutions

Solutions like the UAW/Ford's of "stress debriefings," which try to ease anti-worker outcomes, won't cure what's wrong with decentralized Taylorism. Because it's just one aspect of a society-wide "competitiveness" corporate agenda, the only way to insure different outcomes is to change agendas, create a "counter-hegemony." Creating this new agenda is the work of many different forces, many of whom are not tied to the labor movement. Working people will have to aim big and small at the same time if they are to resolve the system's contradictions in a different direction. A winning strategy depends on putting together a number of pieces.

First, the free market must be exposed for what it really is: an economic and political system that is tightly controlled and planned by large corporations and financial institutions to benefit the few and to destroy the working class. To reckon with the global economy, a national industrial policy needs to be established. Current wisdom which divides the world according to "comparative advantage" and has meant a competitive race to the bottom for working people must be replaced with strategies linking "sustainable development" with national and human integrity.

Second, a medium picture vision needs to include a reorganized (as the key to revitalized) labor movement. New structures must be created built around regional and community unionism, redrawn national organizations (for example sectoral configurations like health care councils, communications councils, durable goods councils,) with international bargaining mechanisms.

The pieces of the small picture, or workplace, might focus on:

Contradiction #1. **From Poison Apple to Sweet Fruits of Labor Solidarity**: The push-pull here is between the group and the individual. Right now this dilemma is resolved in favor of competition and individualism. To put the flip side on top, solidarity and collective action, will mean changing the definition of teamwork and team goals -- working together to achieve a fair workpace, rather than reclaiming market share is one example. Teams will have to mobilize and educate if they are to break the "competitive" agenda that management's team champions.

Contradiction #2. **From Impartial Technology to Jobs are the Answer, Not the Problem**: Although "labor saving" technology is currently being used to intensify work and inflate corporate bottom-lines, the answer does not lie in an anti-technology crusade. Technology and "reengineering" (even the most drastic workforce cutting model) can be part of the counter-hegemony solution. Right now the resulting productivity gains are only linked to corporate "competitive" needs. If they are coupled with a work sharing agenda (shorter work time) they can be turned into an advantage for working people. On the one hand, jobs can be created for the un and under-employed and on the other hand, people could be freed up to work for the common good (painting schools, visiting nursing homes, after-school programs). In some cases the Uddevalla "transcendent" model[63] of long-cycle tasking married to computer age technology could make many jobs less alienating. For others (like deep mining) the only solution to is do less of it. Such a program could improve the lives of everyday folks while still capturing productivity gains.

Contradiction #3. **From One Best Way to Innovation to Meet Social Needs**: Rhetoric aside, the search for the One Best Way is not about quality. It's about profits. Under this scheme workers are just another input, like steel or overhead. Furthermore, zero defects does not guarantee quality goods. It is quite possible to produce a defectless product that is poorly designed, made of cheap/inferior material and expensive. Likewise, the current fascination with "customer driven" work organization should be seen for what it really is -- an attempt to break down every aspect of work into it's smallest, individual units. This strategy is particularly harmful in the public sector where it is used to privatize government services. Decisionmaking by democratically elected officials for the public good are overridden by the needs of individual "customers" who are subjected to "risk/benefit" calculations and increasingly purchase services with "vouchers" from private profit-making deliverers.[64]

Contradiction #4. **From Hung or Shot to Empowering Workers and their Communities**: Whether it is over issues of "flexibility" or decisionmaking, empowerment needs to be about gaining not giving up power. Teams need to create their own agenda for meetings based on goals of worker comfort, stable employment, and social and community (local and regional) needs.

Contradiction #5. **If It Walks Like A Duck to Masters of our Own Agenda**: Team Leaders and managers meet to carefully plan team meetings. These pre-meetings do more than just insure that team meetings come up with the "right" decisions. An equally important function is to keep everyone on the management team on the same page of the hymn book. Unfortunately, in some unions joint reps mirror management practices and meet behind closed doors, make decisions affecting members daily lives, without being accountable to those they represent. While worker reps need to meet separately from management, they must keep co-workers involved in all decisions. Election of officers with specific terms and duties, open meetings, published proceedings or minutes could keep worker reps focused on where "common interests" end and a workers' independent agenda begins.

The Process: **From Boiled & Pithed to a Thoughtful Consideration of the Options**: Although the psychology of contradictions won't change, the outcomes can. Right now it's not much of a contest. On one side there is a clearly articulated agenda of "meeting the competition," "one best way," and "flexibility." For the most part, the other side seems dazed and confused. Pieces of the alternative vision are being put into practice in a number of workplaces.[65] These few success stories, the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) at the CAMI autoplant[66] and Mazda workers in Flat Rock, Michigan[67] and Steelworkers in New Algoma[68] in particular, are all union shops.

Spinning Straw Into Gold

These outposts, bucking the dominant trend in business unionism, have succeeded precisely because they are unionized workplaces. The union structure provides a platform from which workers (and even militant business unions) can launch a counter-hegemony offensive. Unions have resources for analysis, research, communications, consultation and organization. Without this ready-made structure and the resources that back it up, workers are forced to develop their alternative on management's playground where the rules are designed to insure a management victory. The benefits the union structure brings goes beyond the workplace; unions also provide national and international linkages critical in a global economy. Without broadening our sights beyond the enterprise/workplace (and going into the community near and far) no stable or lasting alternative is possible. Whether by design or accident, the early company union strategists grasped this. Japanese capital understood this as well. After breaking the independent industry-based auto unions in the 1950s, Japanese management turned to enterprise unionism.[69]

Seeing no other alternative than to carve out a niche within the framework of business unionism and corporate hegemony, the "new realism" labor leaders and academics center their strategy on the enterprise. They

argue that the old company unions, even though they were impenetrable, coercive, and had little or nothing to do with democracy, contained the seeds of independent unionism. Workers either "bore from within" or used the plans as training grounds for the "real thing."[70] This group hopes that today's workers, aided by their allies in academia, will achieve better results in this replay of history.

In addition, they point to these set-ups as an American version of Co-determination, the system of labor relations in place in Germany (and Sweden to a lesser extent) where capital and labor share power from the shop floor to the boardroom. German Co-Determination is mandated by a series of laws, the most famous being the Codetermination Act, The Works Constitution Act, and the Personnel Representation Act (covering the public sector). These laws require that every workplace with five or more employees set up joint labor-management committees. Employee representatives are elected. Enterprise level committees, which also have stockholder representatives, exist in selected industries which account for 40% of the former West German gross domestic product.[71]

Although the co-determination model is popular among a number of progressive academics,[72] there are some crucial differences which make the hoped for outcomes impossible. First, is the relationship between German unions and the political movement and how this affects daily life at work. The Social Democratic Party, tied to the union movement, has been powerful enough to pass laws which have both leveled the playing field between management and labor and created a vast social safety net. Laws force management to negotiate with elected employee reps over a wide range of issues -- length of work day, training, introduction of technology, wages, time off, and even investment. Employers who refuse face penalties.[73] This allows unions to come to the table with power, not hat in hand, hoping to convince management that what they want will be "good for business." Another critical factor is that the German unions see workplace cooperation as a tactical move to build a worker-friendly society, not a goal in itself.

Current political trends make it unlikely that management will be any more forgiving as this generation of workers tries to negotiate on their terrain. If rates of unionization are any measure of union strength, unions are not as strong as they were in the 1920s and 1930s. And while labor progressives dream of workplace democracy where employees really run the

show, the "cooperation" currently in place more closely resembles the relationship the 1920s AFL had with management than the Co-Determination German and Swedish unions have with their employers. And workers today face an even more sophisticated array of union busting tactics.[74] True workplace empowerment and democracy will only take place in the context of an alternative vision and strategy that extends beyond the workplace and business unionism and into the global economy. Without that, it's a case of trying to spin straw into gold.

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19. Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: Vol 8: Post War Struggles 1918-1920*, (1988).
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[36]. James P. Womack, Daniel T. Jones and Daniel Roos, *The Machine that Changed the World*, (1990), Barry Bluestone and Irving Bluestone, *Negotiating the Future: A Labor Perspective on American Business* (1992), Paul S. Adler, "The Learning Bureaucracy: The New United Motors Manufacturing, Inc.," *Research in Organizational Behavior, Vol 15* (1993). These writers see this system as a win-win situation. The MIT trio (Womack, Jones & Roos) are so sharp they didn't need to speak to workers to make this determination -- they could tell by just looking into workers' faces. For a considerably less rosy view of lean production see, Knuth Dohse, Ulrich Jurgens and Thomas Malsch, "From 'Fordism' to 'Toyotism'? The Social Organization of the Labor Process in the Japanese Automobile Industry," *Politics & Society* 14, No. 2 (1985), 115-146; Yamamoto Kiyoshi, "Labor-Management Relations at Nissan Motor Co., Ltd (Datsun)," *Annals of the Institute of Social Science* (1980); Fucini and Fucini, *Working for the Japanese* (1990), Steve Babson, "Lean or Mean: The MIT Model and Lean Production at Mazda," *Labor Studies Journal* (Summer 1993).

[37]. Douglas McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise*, (1960).

[38]. Hegemony is a system of all-around control. It combines traditional methods of control, like force (the judicial system, police and the military) with less obvious ways by shaping what people believe (through what schools teach, the message the media puts out, what passes for "common wisdom"). The term is best explained by Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* (1970 ed.), *The Modern Prince*. For excellent discussion of hegemony in the U.S. working class and efforts to penetrate it, see Richard J. Altenbaugh, *Education for Struggle: The American Labor Colleges of the 1920s and 1930s*, (1990), Introduction.

[39]. Mike Parker and Jane Slaughter, *Choosing Sides: Unions and the Team Concept*, (1989).

[40]. Elly Leary and Marybeth Menaker, *Jointness at GM: Company Unionism in the 21st Century*, (1993). Many examples in this paper come from this 64 page pamphlet which is available from New Directions Region 9A, P.O. Box 2221, Woonsocket, RI 02895 (Send $3 +$1 shipping). Yes, a shameless plug.

[41]. Elaine Bernard, Director, Harvard University Trade Union Program.

[42]. F.J. Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale* (1947 ed.). For another interpretation of the Hawthorne experiments see, Alex Carey, "The Hawthorne Studies: A Radical Criticism," *American Sociological Review* Vol. 32 No. 3 (1967).

[43]. For an excellent description of the change from craft production to Taylorist production see David Montgomery's *Fall of the House of Labor.*

[44]. Lisabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (1990); Daniel Nelson, *American Rubber Workers and Organized Labor 1900-1941* (1988) (on The Industrial Assembly).

[45]. *E.I.DuPont v. Chemical Workers Assn.*, 311 NLRB No. 88 (1993).

[46]. NUMMI workers and committeemen told interviewer Paul Adler they felt "guilty" and tried to think up ways to reciprocate.

[47]. H.K. Klein and Philip Kraft, "Social Control and Social Contract in NetWORKing: Total Quality Management and the Control of Work in the United States," in *Computer Supported Cooperative Work* (1994).

[48]. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Occupational Injuries and Illnesses in the United States by Industry, 1983-1992," Table 8, U.S. Department of Labor Press Release (USDL 94-600), "Workplace Injuries and Illnesses in 1993," December 21, 1994. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, cumulative trauma disorders (like

carpal tunnel syndrome and tendinitis) is the single largest category of occupational illness, representing 62% of all reported job-related illnesses, as well as the fastest growing category of occupational disease in the U.S.; See also, "9 to Nowhere," Wall Street Journal, December 1, 1994.

[49]. Charley Richardson [untitled document in author's possession].

[50]. Elaine Bernard, "Technological Change and Skill Development" [rest of cite], Michael Hammer and James Champy, *Reengineering the Corporation: A Manifesto for Business*, (1993). The Swedish automaker Volvo briefly experimented with reconceptualizing the process of the vehicle building at its Uddevalla plant. Unlike the Hammer and Champy model of radical reorganization to meet downsizing goals of 45%, a prime objective at Uddevalla was worker satisfaction. This system, "transcendent production" blends high tech dock assembly (collecting materials and delivering them via computer driven/ automated vehicles, and computerized planning and coordination of assembly) with long-cycle craft work of earlier days. Productivity at Uddevalla was comparable to plants using the traditional assembly-line. Christian Berggren, *Alternatives to Lean Production:Work Organization in the Swedish Auto Industry* (1992).

[51]. This new form of reorganization is taking root in Japan too. Michael Williams, "Back to the Past: Some Plants Tear Out Long Assembly Lines, Switch to Craft Work," *Wall Street Journal*, October 24, 1994.

[52]. Hammer & Champy.

[53]. Tony Horwitz, *9 to Nowhere*, Wall Street Journal, December 1, 1994.

[54]. John Tomaney, "The Reality of Workplace Flexibility," in *Capital & Class* (1989); Anna Pollert, "Dismantling Flexibility," *Capital and Class* (Vol 34, Spring 1988); Leary & Menaker.

[55]. Guillermo Grenier, *Inhuman Relations: Quality Circles and Anti-Unionism in American Industry* (1988), Klein and Kraft.

[56]. See *Jointness at GM.*

[57]. See, *Jointness at GM* for list of places that have had multiple votes.

[58]. The NUMMI Director of Human Resources told Paul S. Adler that between 30-25% of the carefully selected NUMMI workers were either "hopelessly intransigent" or "uncomfortable" with the NUMMI system. In Paul S. Adler.

[59]. Donald Wells, *Empty Promises: QWL and the Labor Movement* (1987).

[60]. Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, (1957).

[61]. Nelson Lichtenstein, "Great Expectations: The Promise of Industrial Jurisprudence and It's Demise 1930-1960," and David Brody, "Workplace Contractualism in Comparative Perspective," both in Lichtenstein and Harris (L&H); Kim Moody, *An Injury to One: The Decline of American Unionism*, (1988); Daniel Cantor and Juliet Schor, *Tunnel Vision: Labor and The World Economy, and Central America* (1987); and "An Organizing Model of Unionism," *Midwest Labor Research Review* No. 17 (1991).

[62]. In a study undetaken in cooperation with the Organizing Department of the AFL-CIO detailing drives conducted between 1986-1988, Kate Bronfenbrenner found that "unions do best with a majority of women and/or minority workers. The results are even stronger for minorities than women, with units with more than 75% minority workers having an average win rate of 66% as opposed to a 37% average win rate for all-white units." When women make up the majority of the unit the win rate in 59% compared to 47% with no women, and 33% where women are less than 1/2 of the unit. Kate Bronfenbrenner, *Successful Union Strategies for Winning Certification Elections and First Contracts:*

Report to Union Participants, Part I: Organizing Survey Results, (unpublished paper in author's possession, 1993). A version of this article will appear in 1995.

[63]. see Endnote 16.

[64]. John Anderson & Alex Downey, "Total Quality Management: Should Unions Buy Into TQM?" *TARP: Research Series No. 1* (June 1993).

[65]. *Jointness at GM*, Mike Parker & Jane Slaughter, "Surviving Lean Production:Two Auto Worker Locals in the United States," (draft July 1993 in author's possession), Canadian Auto Workers Union, *CAW Statement on the Reorganization of Work* (1990), Anderson & Downey, Guillermo Grenier, UAW New Directions 1992 Constitutional Convention Platform.

[66]. David Robertson, James Rinehart, Christopher Huxley, Jeff Wareham, Herman Rosenfeld, Alan McGough, Steve Benedict, *The CAMI Report: Lean Production in a Unionized Auto Plant* (1993).

[67]. Fuccini and Parker and Slaughter cites

[68]. "Joint Workplace Restructuring and Employee Participation Process" New Algoma and USWA, "Union Involvement in work Reorganization: A Steelworker Guide for Staff and Local Unions (1992 Steelworker National Policy and Bargaining Conference). To date, there has been nothing published analyzing New Algoma [cite, Hirsch?]

[69]. Dohse, Jurgens & Malsh. Nor should enterprise unionism be confused with co-determination, Takashi Araki, "The Japanese Model of Employee Representational Participation," *Comparative Law Journal Vol 15:143.*

[70]. William Green, President of the AFL in the late teen and 1920s, continually urged a bore from within strategy. For a good summary of Green's efforts see, Craig Phelan, *William Green: Biographer of a Labor Leader* (1989), chapter entitled "Marketing Unionism to Business: The 1920s." Those who think boring from within paid off were: David Brody in L&H, Irving Bernstein, *The Turbulent Years*, (1970). For those who say the company unions were training grounds: Mark Barenberg, "Democracy and Domination in the Law of Workplace Cooperation: From Bureaucratic to Flexible Production, *94 Columbia Law Review No. 3 (1994)*; Steve Jeffreys, "'Matters of Mutual Interest': The Unionization Process at Dodge Main," in Nelson Lichtenstein & Stephen Meyer, *On the Line: Essays on the History of Autowork* (1989) says that the Dodge plan allowed workers to meet separately from management and used their anger and frustration to build an independent union. This was not the case, however, at GM, where the management-installed work councils were never intended to be a voice of the employee. Even though a number of UAW activists sat on the works councils, they never developed into genuine bargaining forms (employee reps had no vote) and workers did not use them in developing an independent unions structure. Jeffreys, Sidney Fine, *The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle* (1963); John Kruchko, *The Birth of a Union Local: The History of UAW Local 674, Norwood, Ohio, 19933-1940* (1972).

[71]. Jutta Helm, "Workplace Democracy in Germany," in Donald Hancock, John Logue, and Bernt Schiller, *Managing Modern Capitalism -- Industrial Renewal and Workplace Democracy in the United States and Europe*, (1991).

[72]. The most compelling cases are made by Rosemary Batt & Eileen Applebaum, *The New American Workplace* (1994), Joel Rogers, *Reforming U.S. Labor Relations* (1994), Richard Freeman and Joel Rogers *Who Speaks For Us? Employee Representation in a Non-Union Labor Market* (1993), Karl Klare, *The Labor-Management Cooperation Debate: A Workplace Democracy Perspective* (1988), and Paul Weiler, *Governing the Workplace: The Future of Labor and Employment Law* (1990). For a different

interpretation of what these modern employer-sponsored workplace committees mean for workers see, James R. Rundle, "The Debate Over Modifying the Ban on Employer Dominated Labor Organizations: What is the Evidence?" in *Restoring the Promise of American Labor* (1994), and H.K. Klein and Philip Kraft, "Social Control and Social Contract in NetWORKing: Total Quality Management and the Control of Work in the United States," in *Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, (1994).

[73]. Jutta Helm, "Workplace Democracy in Germany," in Donald Hancock, John Logue, and Bernt Schiller, *Managing Modern Capitalism -- Industrial Renewal and Workplace Democracy in the United States and Europe*, (1991).

[74]. See Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations, "Fact Finding Report" (May 1994).

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